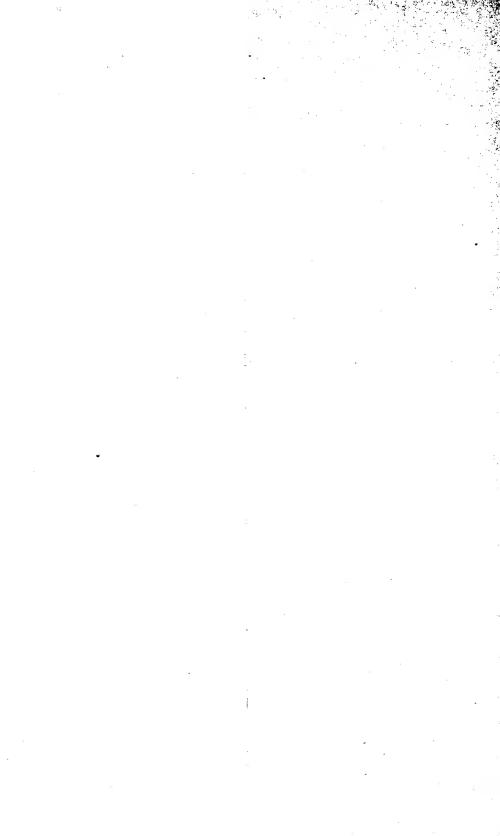
INAUGURAL ADDRESS HON. ALBERT GALLATIN, LL. D. TAKING THE CHAIR PRESIDENT NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY. NEW-YORK 1513.



INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. ALBERT GALLATIN, LL.D.

ON TAKING THE CHAIR AS

PRESIDENT

OF THE

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TUESDAY EVENING, FEB 718, 1843

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,
BY JAMES P. WRIGHT, IL PINE STREET.
1543.

At the regular Monthly Meeting of the New-York Historical Society, held at the Historical Rooms in the University of the City of New-York, on Tuesday evening, 7th February, 1843, the Honorable Albert Gallatin, on taking the Chair as President, read an Inaugural Address.

Whereupon, on motion of John W. Francis, M. D., it was unanimously *Resolved*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President for his able and instructive Address, and that a copy be requested for publication.

An extract from the Minutes,

Attest-

JOHN JAY,

Recording Secretary.

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my thanks for the honour you have been pleased to confer on me. Yet, at my advanced age, with a feeble health and impaired faculties, I can only be the nominal President of this Society; and, in addressing you on this occasion, I am unable to offer to your consideration any but some crude observations of a general nature.

The history of the inhabitants of European descent of the United States is naturally divided into two Periods, under the Colonial Government, and since they became an Independent Nation. The most conspicuous portion of our annals is that which unites those two Periods, the transition from one to the other. In my view of the subject, it comprehends near thirty years, embracing not only those of actual warfare, but also the controversy which preceded it, and the establishment of a National Government, which completed the Revolution.

This great event differs, in the manner in which it was effected, in its origin, its object, and its results, from every other Revolution on record. It was not accompanied by the disorders, or polluted by the excesses, usual concomitants of civil contests; and it almost immediately assumed the character of a foreign, instead of a civil war. It was compara-

tively attended but with few changes in the laws and social state, in the political and religious institutions of the country. It has appeared to me, that its principal characteristic consists in the happy union of the love of liberty and independence, with that of order and a profound respect for law; that this National feature may be traced to the first settlement of the country, and that it has continued to exert a most beneficial influence to this day. This is the topic which I wish briefly to illustrate.

It was under that influence that, in all the remonstrances against those acts of Great Britain which preceded the war of Independence, the Americans neither alluded to the restraints and inconveniences of the Colonial Government, as it existed prior to those acts, nor appealed to the indefeasible Rights of Men. They only claimed those rights, to which they were entitled as British subjects, and such as had till then been uniformly recognized. Even, when stating, in the Declaration of Independence, the grievances and oppressive acts which compelled them to dissolve the Union with Great Britain, the enumeration is confined to those which had occurred since the accession of the reigning King.

It was only when no other means were left for redress, than a separation from the British Empire, and when a resort to physical force and actual war had already taken place, that, in declaring their Independence, they asserted the principle, "That men were created equal, and were endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that Governments derived their just rights from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of Government became destructive of these ends, it was the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new Government."

These fundamental principles have been recognised in all

our Constitutions, and are considered as incontestible by every American. On such momentous an event, as that of the dissolution of the common Government by which Great Britain and America were united, an appeal to these principles was absolutely necessary, both in order to justify the act and for the purpose of embodying the whole Nation in its support. It is believed that it will be found, that this is the only occasion in the American history, on which a practical application of those principles has been resorted to; and that all the alterations and modifications of our internal institutions, whether general or local, religious or political, have, from the first settlement of the country, been effected without violence, without resort to physical force, and uniformly in conformity with the forms prescribed by the existing Laws or Constitutions.

In the several State Constitutions, contemporaneous with the Declaration of Independence, hardly any innovation was made in the internal existing institutions, which was not rendered necessary by that act. They relate principally to the organization of the Executive department, or to such other powers as had theretofore been exercised by the British Government.

A strong proof of the assertion, that the primary, if not the sole immediate object of the Revolution, was a dissolution of the British connexion, and not a change in the internal institutions of the country, is to be found in the remarkable fact, that two of the Colonies did not find it necessary to establish any new Constitution, and remained, at that time and during a half century longer, under the form of government established by the Charters which they had received from Great Britain. The reason of this is obvious. The Crown had not, in the Charters of Connecticut and

Rhode Island, reserved to itself, either any control over the acts of internal policy emanating from the Colonial Legislative Bodies, or even any share in the Executive Power. In neither, did the laws made by their own Legislatures require the Regal sanction; and, in both, the selection of the Executive Magistrate and Council, instead of belonging to the King, was left to the Colonies themselves. Both might almost have been considered as republics under the protection of Great Britain; subject, however, to the general Colonial restraints over their commerce, and to the condition, that their laws should not be contrary and repugnant to those of England. And as these restraints and that condition were abrogated by the act of Independence itself, nothing more was necessary at the time, on the part of those two Colonies, than their adhesion to that act, and their cooperation in carrying it into effect.

Another reason may indeed be adduced for the adherence to those Charters, but in no respect inconsistent with that which has now been assigned. During the general warfare carried on, towards the end of the reign of Charles the Second, against Charters generally, those of Connecticut and Rhode Island had been preserved, and they were on that account held in special veneration.

But however limited may have been the immediate object of the American Revolution, its great and general influence is well known. After a lapse of years, the Constitutions which had been at first adopted, had ceased to harmonize, in some respects, with the national feelings and character. It is believed, that there is hardly a single one which has not been altered or modified. A critical examination of that branch of the subject cannot be expected on this occasion. I will confine myself to a few States, and to

a single point. In every instance known to me, the right of suffrage has been extended and the inequalities of representation have been corrected. I may speak with certainty in reference to the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina.

In all of them, either the one or the other, in some, both those objects have been effected. And, in every instance, without exception, these and all the other alterations which have taken place, have been made, not only in the most orderly manner, but in perfect conformity with the Constitution or laws previously existing.

Thus, for instance, in Virginia, the inequality of representation, and the injustice of confining the right of suffrage to freeholders, which had been denounced sixty years ago, had at last become a subject of general complaint. parties aggrieved did nothing more than remonstrate and persevere in their remonstrances. It is but few years, since both evils were corrected by a Convention convoked for that special purpose; and the members of that Convention were elected in conformity with the provisions of the old Constitution; that is to say, by freeholders alone, and according to the old and defective rule of representation, which gave to every county, however differing in population, the same number of delegates. Thus, on the one hand, those who were aggrieved used no other weapon than the right of petition, and, on the other, those who were in the exclusive possession of power, spontaneously yielded to public opinion and to a sense of justice.

That, which has now been said of Virginia, is equally true with respect to all the States, whose Constitutions have been altered, and in reference to all the alterations which have been made, whether for the purposes above stated, or for any other object. It is equally true of at least one of the States which had no other Constitutions but their Charters. Notwithstanding the well-known attachment of the people of Connecticut to their ancient customs, the requisite change was effected in that State, in the same orderly manner and through the same means. There has been everywhere a salutary and peaceable reform, no where a revolution.

A still more difficult task had been previously performed. The several British Colonies of America had been bound together by no other legal tie than as being members of the same Empire. When the separation took place, this was dissolved; and each Colony became, and considered itself, a distinct and independent sovereign State. United by a common and imminent danger, they succeeded in asserting and obtaining independence, without the aid of a Central efficient Government. The inefficiency became apparent as soon as the danger was removed. But the difficulty of inducing thirteen independent States voluntarily to surrender a part of their sovereignty was immense. We all know the steady opposition to any such concession, by Holland, so long as she was a Republic,-by Switzerland to this day. The general tendency of Republics has ever been subdivision rather than union; and we see a striking proof of it in the new States of Spanish America. I cannot call to my recollection any other instance, in the history of mankind, but that of these States, in which such a voluntary surrender of sovereignty has taken place. It was effected here, notwithstanding the efforts of those whose personal interests and influence were affected by the change, and notwithstanding the honest opposition of many sincere patriots, who apprehended a complete consolidation and a total subversion of local laws, of local institutions, and of State rights. I verily believe that, if much longer delayed, our happy Union would have become impossible.

But it is less the event itself, than the manner in which it was accomplished, that comes within the scope of that view of the subject, to which I have been desirous to call your attention. That wonderful change was effected, precisely in the same orderly manner, as the reforms of the several State Constitutions. No other weapons were used but argument; and the assent of each State separately, was successively obtained, through the medium of Conventions freely elected in each State for that special purpose. A universal acquiescence in the will of the People, thus regularly expressed, immediately followed. And the establishment of a General Government, for general and national purposes, substituted for the analogous Powers which Great Britain had formerly exercised, was the end and completion of the American Revolution.

Far different was the immediate result of those in other countries, which we have seen, or which are best known to us. Whether in England, in France, or in Spanish America, they all did, for a while at least, terminate in Military Despotism. When recollecting, or viewing those usurpations by military chiefs, every American must return his humble thanks to the kind Providence, which, instead of a Cromwell or a Bonaparte, blessed the people of these States with a Washington. Nothing I might say can add to the reputation of that great and good man. But, as it cannot be doubted that there were virtuous and patriotic men in other countries, and some of an opposite character in this, it belongs to my subject to inquire into the causes which, in the natural course of events, led to this result.

What was the particular characteristic which, more than any other, distinguished General Washington, and enabled him to exercise such beneficial influence over the destinies of his country? Not any extraordinary amount of acquired knowledge: he was neither a classical scholar, nor a man of science. Nor was he endowed either with those splendid powers of eloquence, which have elevated many of our distinguished citizens to their stations, nor with those other qualifications more showy than solid, which generally dazzle mankind. It is a most rare occurrence in the pages of history; it is most refreshing, it is the glory of America, that his was the superiority of Virtue, in his public career, of Political Virtue. A profound, I had almost said, an innate sense of Justice; on all public occasions, a perfect control over his naturally strong passions; above all, a most complete and extraordinary self-abnegation. When called upon to decide, it is not enough to say, that the effect, which the decision might have on his future prospects, on his popularity to which he was not insensible, on posthumous fame which he cherished, yielded to a sense of Justice and a regard for the public good. Personal consequences and considerations were not even thought of; they never crossed his mind; they were altogether obliterated. And yet these, and his other eminent qualifications, would not, alone, have been sufficient to produce the great and general results to which I have alluded.

There have been, at times, men who were in advance of their age: some threw seeds which in due time fructified; and their labors have been appreciated by posterity: but, in their own times, they produced no effect. It is believed, that no man who has taken an active part in the affairs of this world, ever acquired a paramount influence over his contemporaries, who did not represent the opinions and feel-

ings of the nation which he governed. If it be permitted to Man to glory in any thing, the Americans have a right to be proud of Washington; less on account of his having been born amongst them, than because he was selected, and, during his whole career, sustained by the people; because they adhered to him in war and in peace, under the most adverse circumstances as well as in prosperity. Never could he have been thus chosen and constantly supported, had he not been the type and representative of the American People.

He, his associates, the generation in which he lived, had all been born and educated, and their habits, opinions, and character had been formed under the Colonial Government. It is to our Colonial history that we must resort, for the purpose of understanding how the National character was formed and gradually modified.

Chroniclers generally take notice only of the most conspicuous events of their times: but the occurrences of every day are not adverted to. We have abundant documents concerning the Indian and foreign wars; in most States, but few which throw any light on internal life and manners, or even on the gradual modifications in their opinions and habits, which had made the Americans what they were when the war of Independence took place. To collect and cause to be published every public record, or other relic which may add to our information on that important subject, is one of the principal objects of this Society. Yet enough is already known, to enable us to trace to the first settlers of the Colonies, the primary causes of that characteristic feature which is the subject of this address.

A few emigrants to a land inhabited only by Savage Tribes,

in many instances without any assistance from the Government of their native country, found it absolutely necessary to establish some regulations, some form of Government among themselves. United by a community of interest, with no striking inequality amongst themselves, and soon brought to the same level by the situation in which they were placed, their first regulations must necessarily have been founded on the principle of equal rights. But those emigrants came also from that country which must be acknowledged to have, even at that time, enjoyed the best form of government then existing. They brought with them the trial by jury and the germ of an equal representative government.

Nor must the debt of gratitude be denied where it is justly due. In all the British Colonies of this Continent, whether in those already alluded to, or in those known by the name of regal or proprietary, representative Assemblies, elected by the people, were, from the beginning of colonization, everywhere established, to whom the power was conceded to tax themselves, to manage the internal affairs of the Colony, and to make such laws as to them should seem best adapted to its situation. And although this power was, in most Colonies, subject to the approbation of the Crown, and this was often injuriously exercised, yet, so far at least as respected the internal concerns of the Colonies, it might prevent, but did not impose new laws.

All the Colonies were not originally settled by English emigrants. This State is the principal exception; and it most Providentially happened, that its first settlers came from the only other European country, whence emigrants could come, in which the principles of liberty, though under a different form, were already recognized and established.

May I be permitted to add, with perfect good will towards all, without the slightest allusion to dogmas and matters of faith, in reference only to temporal concerns and to the freer expansion of the faculties of man, that it was a most propitious circumstance, that all the first settlers should have come from Protestant countries.

A thorough examination of the laws first passed in all the several Colonies, and of their successive modifications, whether carried into effect or prevented by the Crown, appears to me necessary in order to understand the gradual formation of the national character. My own opportunities in that respect have extended only to the Colonial laws of two of the States. Some of these do not harmonize with the public opinion of this day: but all of them bear the impress of having been respectively adapted to the situation of the country, and in accordance with the general habits and feelings of the times. The habitual submission to law, which indubitably existed at the time of the Revolution, affords a conclusive proof, that the Coionial laws, considered as a whole, had been fitted to the occasions, had won the affections, and commanded the veneration of the people.

The age of nations is not counted by years but by generations. Their education, if I may use the term, is the work of time. An immediate transition from slavery to liberty is impracticable. In all the revolutions which have taken place in our own time, in countries which had been governed by physical force, or by partial and unequal laws, odious to the people at large, the greatest excesses and convulsions have ensued whenever that physical force was withdrawn. A few enlightened and patriotic men were wholly unequal to the task of converting at once into freemen a People

educated under such a government as that which had been established in Spanish America.

The inhabitants of these States had, on the contrary, from the first settlement of the country, acquired the habit, in their Representative Assemblies, in their Town and County Meetings, to discuss and to have a share in the management of their public concerns. They had learned the difficult art to know how, they had become capable to govern themselves. And from the time when Independence was declared, they have, unrestrained by any external control, exercised that power.

Instead of those convulsions which had seemed to be the unavoidable consequence of any great Revolution, America presented the spectacle of a Confederation of extensive and powerful Republics, voluntarily strengthening their bond of Union, and peaceably settling under regular and orderly Institutions. Governments were exhibited, from which every trace of hereditary authority had been expunged, in which all the Powers emanated from the People, under which a more unrestrained freedom of action was left to individuals than had ever been supposed to be safe or practicable; and which, in practice, were just towards other Nations, faithful to their engagements, wisely and efficiently administered without the aid of a standing army, and without being sustained by any other coercive means than the moral force of Law. Here was a country, where, during a period of near sixty years, it had not been found necessary to suspend in a single instance that palladium of personal liberty, the writ of habeas corpus, and where not a single drop of blood had been shed on the scaffold for political offences; where also the most unlimited liberty of conscience was allowed, and Religion, neither aided, disturbed, or corrupted by an alliance with Political Institutions, was left to stand on the Rock of its own unshakeable foundation; and where, at the same time, a profound religious feeling pervaded and influenced the whole community. America justly became, for all liberal minds a subject of exultation, wherever liberty penetrated a model for imitation, everywhere the hope of mankind.

An attempt to inquire into the duties imposed on our legislators, into the principles of legislation necessary for preserving the veneration in which Law is held, and for ensuring a continuance of those unparalleled blessings, would carry me far beyond the scope of this address. Yet I ask your indulgence for some desultory remarks, perhaps necessary in order that I may not be misunderstood.

If it be unjustifiable, unless for the most important purposes, and when no other means remain of obtaining redress, to resort to an appeal to the People in their primary capacity, and to incur the risks of civil war and of a dissolution of the State; we find on the other hand, in the history of the world, abundant proofs, that, in almost every case, those convulsions had their origin in the ambition, the cupidity, or the obstinacy of those who happened to have engrossed all the powers of the State. Our own experience teaches us that, under our Institutions, Revolutions may always be prevented by timely and spontaneous reforms. And the provisions now generally inserted in our Constitutions, for obtaining by an orderly process the alterations that may become necessary, would seem to have removed the danger of a resort to any other means.

Power is ever apt to corrupt those who are in possession of it. The danger of its being abused necessarily lies, under every form of government, in that quarter where the Supremacy resides. Although the fundamental principle of our Institutions protects us against the most fruitful and common causes of oppression, it cannot alone afford at all times perfect security. A perfect form of government and a perfect administration are unattainable by imperfect creatures. A majority may err; it may oppress the minority; and the Representative may abuse his trust. We must expect and submit to temporary excitements and aberrations. But the principle, that all Powers should emanate from the People, is not a question of expediency: it is a natural right. And we may hope, that, as such, it will ever be found to contain within itself a sufficient remedy for the abuses to which it is liable.

Absolute dominion cannot be safely lodged any where: but delegated Power may be restricted and divided. restrictions have been laid by our Constitutions on the Legislative body, and others might perhaps be advantageously added. Under no circumstances, should unlimited authority be entrusted to any one body of men. "The concentration of all the powers of Government in the same hands is despotism." The Legislative Body, which prescribes the general rule, should not be permitted either to apply it, or to make exceptions for special cases, for or against particular classes. Legislation should be limited to its own sphere, imposing only necessary and salutary restraints, not harrassing and disgusting individuals by multiplied innovations and regulations at best of doubtful utility, and not interfering in the management of their own concerns, with the free action of men, unless where it infringes the rights of others.

But I perceive that I am insensibly led into minute details. It may not be possible to reduce to a single principle

the duties of Legislators. If there be one, to which there is no exception, to which all others are subordinate, from which almost all others seem naturally to flow, it is a strict adherence to Justice. It is hardly possible, that laws founded in justice should be oppressive, unequal or special. deviation from that principle, in whatever shape or under whatever pretence, successively leads to others: so that it might ultimately happen, that no scruple would be felt in passing iniquitous laws, that public and private confidence might be destroyed, respect for Law be converted into contempt, and the basis of our institutions be shaken in its foundation, by the general demoralization of the whole community. The lawgivers need never fear to confide in the sense of justice of the People. There they will find a responding chord; for, in every human heart has God implanted that consciousness, which makes him a responsible agent, and if not perverted by his own passions, by his rulers, or his guides, enables and induces him to prefer right to wrong. In every ascertained instance where a contrary result has occurred in the United States, its origin may be traced to some antecedent course of Legislation, corrupt, unjust, or extravagant. In many cases, reckless expenditure and the abuse of public credit have been sufficient, ultimately to impair the moral feeling of the People. Abroad, they have, in one instance, been the immediate cause of a great Revolution.

In tracing this hasty and imperfect sketch, I have confined myself almost exclusively to a review of the great effects produced by that respect for law, which distinguishes the American People, and is so habitual that we may not be fully sensible of its inestimable advantages: and I have not adverted to other causes, which have co-operated in the formation of the National character and of our political Institu-

But I cannot conclude, without reminding you, that no nation was ever placed in a situation so favorable to the establishment of a Government founded in justice and on equal rights, and for accomplishing the object for which they seem to have been selected, than the People of the United States. Let us never forget that, to that Divine Providence which guided the steps of the first emigrants to this land, and which has ever since protected us in such special and visible manner, we are indebted for all those blessings, for that extraordinary prosperity, that vast increase of population and power, of which we are too apt to boast. Let it be impressed on this generation, that they are bound by the most solemn duty, by the most sacred obligation to their Country and to their God, to preserve and transmit, unimpaired, to posterity, the invaluable inheritance which they have received from their ancestors.

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This Society was originally formed in the city of New-York, in the year 1804, by the association of several patriotic gentlemen for the purpose of collecting and preserving "whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of the State of New-York in particular." Among its founders and other early members were eminent divines, illustrious statesmen, and distinguished jurists, together with others not less esteemed in their day for professional skill, literary taste, and classical or scientific acquirements. The institution was regarded with great favor by the public, and considerable appropriations have been made by the State Legislature to further its objects. By the means thus afforded, and the liberal contributions of individuals, a valuable library has been acquired, consisting of a great number of books and manuscripts relating to the history and antiquities of this continent, and embracing a large proportion of works more particularly connected with the annals of our own country. An extensive eabinet of coins and medals, both modern and antique; many busts and portraits of eminent men; and a fine collection of objects of curiosity, deriving interest from their rarity or antiquity, are also amongst the treasures amassed by the Society during the earlier period of its existence, to which no inconsiderable accessions have been made of late years.

The condition of the Society at the present time is highly flourishing; and it continues to enjoy, in a remarkable degree, the favor of the public. The contributions it has been enabled to make by its printed publications

towards the collection of historical materials, of a general as well as a local character, have served to enhance its claims to consideration both at home and abroad. Occupying an extensive suite of rooms in the noble edifice of the New-York University, its Library and Cabinet are the constant resort of the members and strangers, especially of all engaged in historical studies, to whom it offers greater facilities than any other similar institution in our country.

By the recommendation of the Society, the State Legislature has recently printed an invaluable mass of documents illustrative of the early part of our revolutionary annals, commencing with the first organized resistance to the colonial authorities, and ending with the journals of the convention that framed the constitution of independent State government; comprising also the period of the invasion of our territory by General Burgoyne, and his glorious defeat and surrender on the plains of Saratoga. During this period the authorities of New-York bore an active part in the campaigns against the public enemy, and the memorials of their unceasing labors at that important crisis, with a hostile army on the north, and another advancing to effect a junction from the south, are now, by the publication referred to, spread before the community in testimony of the wise and patriotic counsels of the fathers of our State.

In pursuance of a similar recommendation, an Agent of this State has been sent to Europe for the purpose of obtaining copies of papers connected with our colonial history, who has already visited and explored the archives of the Dutch Government and the West India Company, and collected much interesting material in that quarter; and, at the present time, is engaged in accomplishing the objects of his interesting mission by the examination of the records of the British Government. France will next claim his attention, should the liberality of the present State Legislature equal that of its predecessors, by whom the mission has been so far sustained.

In presenting to the public this brief view of the history and present state of the Historical Society of New-York, it is designed to awaken an increased interest in its objects. Although much has been already done, much more may be accomplished with even little effort on the part of its friends, especially towards enlarging its collection of original papers and documents, having reference to events of a public character,

or illustrating the lives of eminent men; and it is highly desirable that families or individuals, in whose possession such materials exist, should look to this institution as the best and safest depository of those sacred reliques.

Contributions to the Library are likewise earnestly solicited; publications of an early date, particularly such as partake of an historical character, are of the greatest value, as it is intended that the library of this Society shall surpass all others in works relating to American history. Individuals often come into the possession of books of great rarity, which, if placed in a public library, may become the means of diffusing important information, but left to slumber on a private shelf, afford no instruction or benefit to their possessor or to others. The Society is constantly receiving donations of books and pamphlets to a considerable extent, and the number would doubtless be greatly increased, were a more general interest taken in this department of its labors, and the attention of individuals more frequently drawn to its importance. The most obvious mode of accomplishing this object is by inducing gentlemen of ample means to unite in the purchase of large collections of suitable works from individuals; as, for example, the American library of Col. Aspinwall, U.S. Consul at London, or that of Mr. Rich, also at London, or that of Mr. Warden at Paris, which are understood to be in the market. In default of accessions on so liberal a scale, small contributions are extremely desirable; and it should be borne in mind, that books placed on the shelves of this Society are not liable to be removed, but intended to be consulted and used within the walls of the Library. A sure guaranty is thus given for the safe preservation and careful use of the volumes it contains; and any one who possesses works to which he requires to make only occasional reference, would be able to do so, without having the trouble of their safe keeping, by depositing them in the care of this Society. By this means, a vast fund of historical learning might be accumulated, subject to be drawn upon at all times without any diminution of its capital.

New-York, Feb. 15th, 1843.

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OF THE

new-york historical society,

Elected January 31st, 1843.

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The Library is open to visitors every day, except Sunday, from half past 9 o'clock A. M. to half past 12 o'clock P. M.; and from half past 1 to 4 o'clock P. M. During these hours the Assistant Librarian is constantly in attendance.



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